1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

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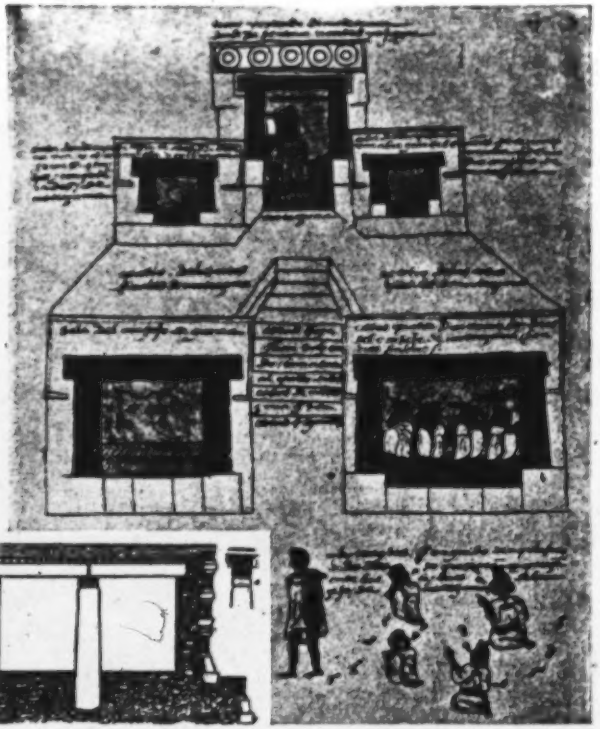

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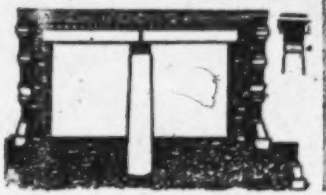

PLATE 41

AZTEC ARCHITECTURE

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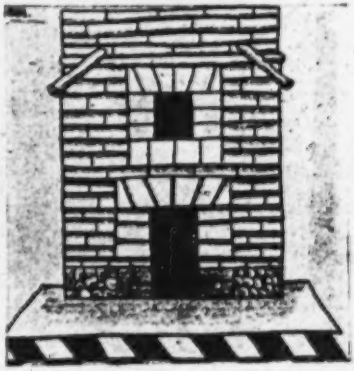
TOP: Montezuma's palace, from the Codex Mendoza. His apartments are on a platform reached by a stair. At right and left are rooms for allied chiefs, such as the rulers of Texcoco, Culhuacan, Chiconauhtla, Tlacopan and Tenayuca. The left-hand room on the first floor is reserved for the war council and the quarters at the right are for the judges, who may be seen settling a case between several litigants. MIDDLE: *Left:* Section through a temple at Mitla showing details of Aztec construction. BOTTOM: A two-story house of probable post-Conquest date. The palace above with ascending platforms shows the customary Aztec method of elevating rooms.



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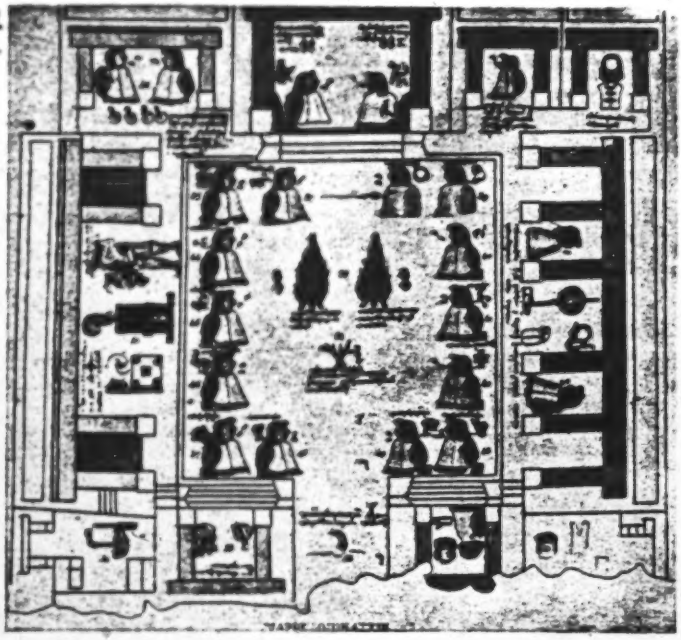

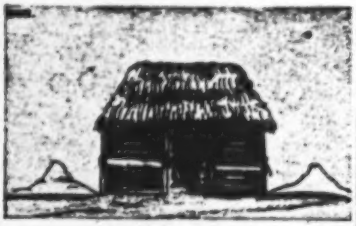

PLATE 42

AZTEC ARCHITECTURE

TOP: An Aztec palace at Texcoco from the Mapa Quinatzin, drawn in elevation without perspective. Nezahualcoyotl and Nezahualpilli, father and son, face each other in the throne room. In the courtyard six vassal chieftains, including the chief of Chiconauhtla (No. 46). The right side of the court is walled by storehouses for tribute; at the left is a temple, designated by the scribe as a hall of science and music. The top rooms are for the judges (*left*) and the arsenal (*right*). The bottom rooms house the war council and visiting ambassadors. BOTTOM: *Left:* House of wattle and daub, still used in Mexico. *Right:* A chief's house with adobe walls on stone foundations, wooden pillars for the anteroom and fresco painting on the façade.

[p. 128(D)]

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PLATE 43

AZTEC ARCHITECTURE

Palace at Chiconauhtla. Note how closely the plan resembles that of the Texcocan palace on Plate 42.

[p. 128(E)]

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

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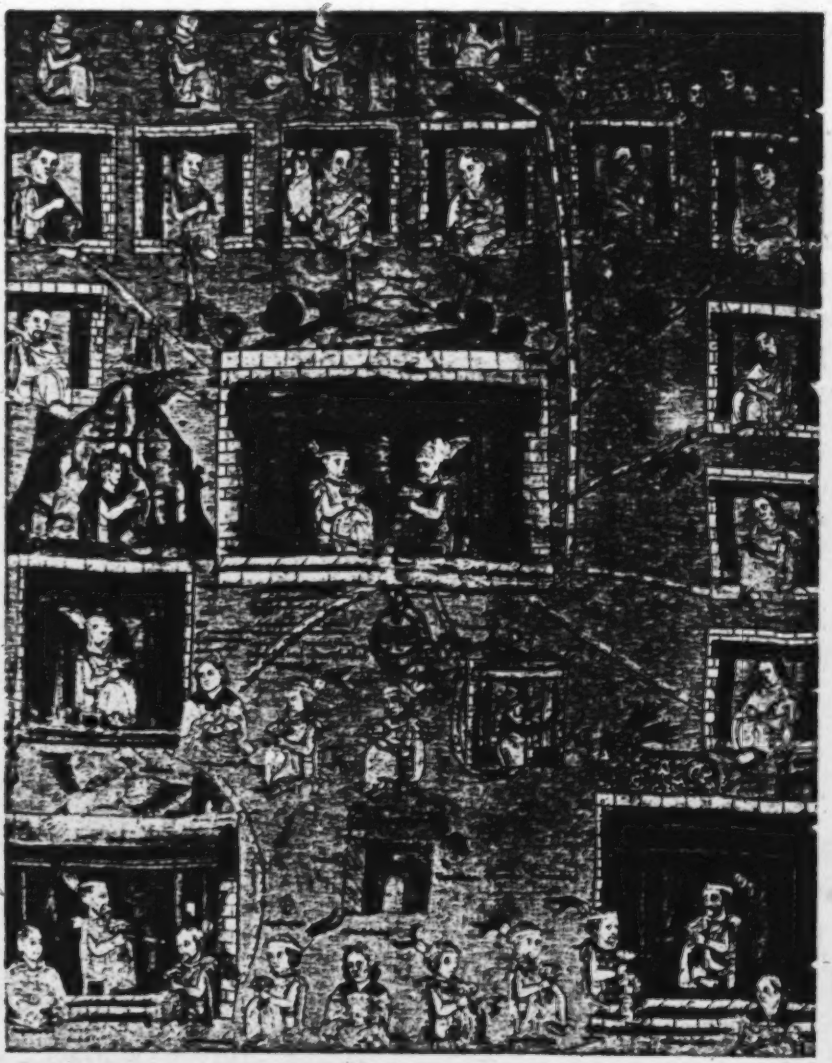

PLATE 44
AZTEC ARCHITECTURE

The Lienzo Chalchihuitzin Vasquez shows the chief and the founder of his line in the central house. The topmost row of figures discloses his descent, and the smaller houses joined to his palace by roads are those of his subjects. The people in the two large houses at lower right and left are allies. Post-Conquest painting on cloth.

[p. 128 (F)]

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

249 The maguey plant, or agave, was important to household economy for its sap, which was fermented to make a kind of [273] beer. Not only was this pulque used both as a tipple and a ceremonial intoxicant, but it had an important nutritive effect as well in counterbalancing the lack of greens in the [283] Mexican diet. The plant itself had many other uses. Its fibers could be twisted into twine or rope and woven into containers or even clothing. The thorns were excellent needles [412] and had a more lugubrious use as instruments for mortifying the flesh in religious penances. The leaves as a whole some- [342] times were employed in constructing shelters or roofing huts. Small wonder that the maguey and the corn plants were symbolized as goddesses and worshiped accordingly.

[248] The Aztecs cultivated cotton in many varieties. Tobacco [276] they smoked for the most part in hollow reeds as a sort of cigarette. Late in their history they also used elbow-shaped 249 [314] pipes, probably for some ceremonial purpose, much as our modern Pueblos restrict pipe smoking to rain-inducing rituals. They consumed quantities of copal gum as incense during religious ceremonies and obtained rubber from Vera Cruz and the south, as well as from the dwarf guayule plant found in northern Mexico. The Aztecs, like us, found this [526] material indispensable to their culture, for balls in their ceremonial game, *tlachtli*, and as a gum to fix feathers and other adornments to costumes. Bitumen, which came from the oil [317] seepages in Vera Cruz, had its function as an adhesive and as a body paint. In western Mexico the Indians prepared a [237] serviceable lacquer which they used to coat gourds and wooden trays. This incomplete list of plants and substances cultivated and exploited by the Aztecs and their neighbors gives an idea of our deep indebtedness to these past civiliza-

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

412 duce the kernels of corn to flour. Stone tools still persisted for cutting and grinding, and cold, beaten copper was be-
[317] ginning to find favor as a material for needles, axes and ornaments. The volcanic glass, obsidian, because of its sharp edges and its abundance, was as satisfactory as most of their edged metal tools. The simple loom and the weighted spindle were
[286 323] sufficient equipment for the weavers, and pottery had a
411 variety of uses in the storage and service of food. The bow, throwing stick, lance and club were the chief weapons. By
176 and large, mechanical inventiveness was not conspicuous in Aztec culture, although craftsmanship, through the superior use of simple tools, was developed to a high degree, as we shall show in the next chapter. (See Plates 35, bottom right; 37, top left.)

361 The great cities of the Aztecs had their origin in the
342 simple villages of sedentary tribesmen. Just as in their social organization and economy, there was a simple base, comparable to the settlements of some of our sedentary North American tribes. The houses on the outlying *chinampas* represented the primitive state of Aztec housing. These were huts with thatched roofs resting on walls of wattles smeared with mud, a type of shelter probably in use in Middle Culture times and persisting two thousand years later in the Indian villages of present-day Mexico. (See Plate 42.)

342 More imposing establishments graced the older portions of the city, where generations of successive residents had brought care, renovation and innovation to domestic architecture. Each house rested on a raised platform faced with stone, which gave some protection against floods. Rooms for social purposes, sleeping, cooking, storage and quartering slaves were arranged in a rectangular plan about a central

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

court. The house walls had stone bases and, according to the wealth or taste of the owner, were finished in stone or adobe. The roof was constructed by covering crossbeams with small poles tightly fitted together and spreading a layer of lime plaster over the whole. As there were no windows, the houses had to be shallow. To admit light and air the buildings were usually two rooms deep and prolonged according to taste and wealth. The back room, which contained a hearth for cooking, was completely enclosed save for the door to the outer chamber which was left largely open on the patio side, columns or short wing walls supporting the rafters. Two-story houses probably did not exist before the Conquest, but there are cases where, to have light and circulation of air, a rear court with its surrounding rooms was elevated on a platform to the height of the roofs of the rooms around the patio in front.[14] (See Plate 41.)

Recent excavations in the palace of the chief of Chicoacuhtla, a fief of Texcoco, revealed interesting data on the growth of a chiefly establishment. This palace was continually being rebuilt and expanded to meet the demands of a growing population and richer economy. Patios were arranged at different levels, according to the plan described above. The earliest rooms had the congested quality of a Teotihuacan plan, but the later chambers were more spacious and open to sun and air. Each renovation called for more space, so that allowing a family of five to each hearth, the entourage of the chief more than trebled in a century and a quarter.[15] (See Plate 43.)

The plan of an Aztec town tended to have a rectangular form, since the division of the land among the clans usually followed a more or less orderly rectilinear pattern. A central

The fourteenth month they named Quecholli. They observed a feast to the god name Mixcoatl. And in this month they made arrows and darts for war. They slew many slaves in honor of this god.

Chapter 14
Quecholli

When they made the arrows, for a space of five days all took blood from the ears, and [with] the blood which they pressed out of them they anointed their own temples. They said that they did penances in order to go to hunt deer. From those who did not bleed themselves, they took their capes as punishment. No man lay with his wife on those days; neither did the old men nor the old women drink wine; because they did penance.

At the end of the four days during which they made the arrows and darts, they made a number of very small arrows, and bound them in four's with each [bundle of] four torches. And, a small bundle of the four torches and the four arrows being made, they offered them upon the graves of the dead. They placed also, along with the arrows and torches, two *tamales*. All this remained for a whole day upon the grave, and at night they burned it and performed many other ceremonies for the dead on this same feast.

On the tenth day of this month, all the Mexicans and Tlatelulcans went to those mountains which they call Çacatepec. And they say that this mountain is their mother. On the day that they arrived, they made huts or cabins of grass, and they lit fires, and nothing else did they do that day.

Next day, at dawn, all forthwith broke fast and set out for the country and formed a great wing, wherewith they surrounded many animals—deer, rabbit, and other animals—and little by little they kept coming together until they rounded up all of them. Then they attacked and hunted, each one what he could.

1. Marginal notation: *November he dier mes.*

Al quarto decimo mes llamauan Quecholli: hazian fiesta al dios llamado Miscoatl: y en este mes hazian saetas y dardos para la guerra: matauã a honrra deste dios muchos esclauos.

Cap. 14
Quecholli.

Quando hazian las saetas por espacio de cinco dias: todos se sangrauan de las orejas y la sangre que esprimjan dellas: vntauanla por sus mesmas sienes. Dezian que hazian penjtencias para yr a caçar venados: los que no se sangrauan, tomauanles las mantas en pena: njngun hombre se echaua con su muger en estos dias, nj los viejos ni viejas beujan pulcre: porque hazian penjtencia.

Acabados los quatro dias en que hazian las saetas y dardos: haziã vnas saetas chiqujtas y atauanlas de quatro en quatro con cada quatro teas: y assi hecho vn manogico de las quatro teas, y de las quatro saetas, ofrecianlas sobre los sepulchros de los muertos: ponjan tambien juntamente con las saetas y teas dos tamales: estaua todo esto vn dia entero sobre la sepultura, y a la noche lo quemauan: y hazian otras muchas cerimonjas por los defũtos en esta mesma fiesta.

A los diez dias deste mes yvan todos los Mexicanos y Tlatelulcanos a aquellos montes que llaman Çacatepec: y dizen que es su madre aquel monte, el dia que llegauan hazian xacales o cabañas de heno, y hazian fuegos y njnguna otra cosa hazian aquel dia.

Otro dia en amaneciendo luego almorçauan todos, y salian al campo y hazian vna ala grande: donde cercauan muchos anjmales, ciervos, conejos, y otros anjmales y poco a poco se yvan juntando hasta acorralarlos todos: entonce arremetian y caçauan cada a qual lo que podia.

[796] [765] And when they had burned, they there buried their charcoal and ashes.

And of those slain in battle, their streamers, their costly banners, their shields, and their capes, and their breech clouts they placed upon a dry maize stalk, tied on. From it hung loose twisted, red cotton [237] thread. At its end there hung a [dead] hummingbird, and four hundred [white] heron [feathers]. Many cords were pasted with feathers. At the ends hung heron [feathers]. They left these in the eagle bowl, where they burned.

And the sixth day was named "They come upon the grass."[3] And for this reason they named it "They come upon the grass," [that] grass was scattered [in the Temple of Mixcoatl]. This [was] grass from under the pine trees. Here were ranged in their places [793] the old women [who served the temple]. Before them lay a mat.

Thereupon came forth women with children. Each one heaped upon the mat five sweet *tamales*. All together, by fives, they laid them [there]. They came to give their children to the old women. And the old women came to take the children; they then dandled them in their arms. Then, those who danced their children in their arms gave them [back] to their mothers.

Then [the mothers] departed to their homes. This began in early morning. And it was time to eat when they finished. And when this was done, then all departed to hunt. They went to Çacatepec, there by Ixillan tonan.

And when ten days still remained in this month, as hath been said above, they then celebrated a feast [776] in honor of the god of the Otomí, who was named Mixcoatl, in the manner which will be set forth.

And when they had arrived there at Çacatepec, [342 513] nothing was done. Only when they arrived, they all made grass shelters, in which to sleep; all lit fires, to warm themselves.

And at dawn, thereupon food and drink were eaten and drunk. Then all arrayed and wrapped mantles about themselves.

[796 224] Then all departed; all were ordered and disposed in a row, stretching like a rope nowhere broken. All, in this manner, encircled all the deer, coyotes, rabbits, and hares; cautiously they closed in upon them.

And when they had come upon them, then all

auh in ontlatlac, in jtecollo, yoan incxo, vncã contoca.

Auh in oiaomjxque in inmecapan, yoan intlaçopan, yoan inchimal, yoã intilma, yoan inmaxtli, oconquauhtitech in qujtlaliaia, qujlpiaia, itech pilcatiuh chichilicpatl, potonquj ic tlamalintli, yiacac pilcatiuh vitzitzilin, yoã cẽtzonaztatl, mjec in mecatl, qujpotonjaia hivitica, yiacac pilcatiuh aztatl, vmpa concaoa in quauhxicalco, vmpa tlatlaia.

Auh injc chiquacentlamantli: motenteoa, çacapã qujxtoa: auh injc motenteoa, çacapan qujxtoa, motzetzeloa, çacatl: ichoatl in ococaçatl, vncan motecpana in jlamatque, ce petlatl imjxpan onoc.

Nimã ie ic oalmoiacatia in pilhoaque çioa, contentimanj petlapan mamacujltetl in tzopelic tamalli: ceniauh, in mamacujltetl contema: qujmõmacativi in impilhoan, in ilamatque: auh in jlamatque, qujnoalantimanj in pipiltotonti, njmã qujmonjtotia inmac: njmã ic qujmõmaca, in tenanoan, in oqujmonjtotilique inpilhoan:

njmã ic iatimanj in inchachan, oc iooatzinco in pecoaia. Auh in ie tlaqualizpan in necaoalo: auh in ie iuhquj, njman iecviloa in amjoaz, vmpa tlamattivi in çacatepec, vmpa in jxillã tonan:

Auh in jmatlacioc metztli y, in tlacpac omoteneuh: vncan qujlhujqujxtiliaia, in inteouh otomj: in mjtoaia Mixcoatl in jpanjn motenteoaz.

Auh in onaxioac in vmpa çacatepec aiatle muchioaia, çan oc qujxqujch haaxioa nexaxacaltilo, in vncan cocochioa, tlatlatlatilo, neezcolo.

Auh in otlatvic, njman ie ic tlatlaqualo ilathoa: njmã ie ic nechichioalo, nchaapanalo:

mec viloa, netecpanalo, nevipanolo: iuhqujn mecatl motilinja, acan cotonj: muchi tlacatl im juh, qujniaoaloa in jxqujchtin mamaça, in coiotl, in tochtli, in citli: çan jvian impan ommonamjquj.

Auh in ovel impan ommonamjc, mec tenamoialo,

3. "Ie sella a la grama" (xamqua quiauya), according to Garibay (loc. cit.).

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

adultery. They accused him before Moctezuma, who then condemned him to be stoned before the people.

FOURTH PARAGRAPH, in which is discussed the council chamber of the brave warriors devoted to war.

Tequiuacacalli or Quauhcalli: there were the brave warriors, the generals, and the commanding generals,[9] whose personal charge was command in war.

Achcauhcalli: there were the constables, the brave warriors who were the ruler's executioners. These who brought to an end [the life of] any upon whom sentence had fallen [were] the Quauhnochtli, Atempanecatl, and Tezcacoacatl. And if they erred in something, they exacted the penalty of them and they died.

Cuiracalli: there were the masters of the youths and the rulers of the youths, there established in order to oversee what was by way of work. And every day, when the sun had already set, they turned their attention to dances. They went quite naked. So they went to the house of songs; so they danced with song, proceeding with, about their necks, only [a cape] made like a net. They set in place and proceeded with their forked heron feather ornaments and the red cord with which they bound their hair; and [they had] their turquoise ear plugs and sea shell lip pendants. All the youths, when they danced and sang, ceased when it was well into the night, when for the first time the fire priests and [other] priests blew the shell trumpets. None of [the youths] entered their homes; none slept at home. Rather, they went straight to the young men's houses, which were everywhere. There they slept, stretched out quite naked. Only little did they sleep. On the morrow, when it was still dark, they set forth, to lodge in the house of the ruler.

And when the ruler knew something ill of them—either drunkenness or concubinage;[10] or that they wrought something to their advantage behind the back of the ruler; [or] that without his command they levied tribute on the town, perchance of chocolate, or of food, which became a tribute, and it was done without leave, and [that] they exacted as tribute whatsoever they wished, then the ruler commanded that they be jailed in wooden cages. He condemned them to pay the penalty; perchance they strangled

pan motecuçuma, njman qujoallatzontequjli, injc teixpan tetepacholoc. 692 565 684

IC NAUJ PARRAPHO, vncan mjtoa in jnnenonotzaia in tiacahoan in jpampa iaujotl. 692

Tequjoacacalli, quauhcalli, vncan catca in tiacaoan tlacochcalcatl tlacatecatl, in jnneixcaujl iautequj: 701

Achcauhcalli vncan catca in achcacauhti in tiacahoan in jtemjcticaoan catca tlatoanj, iehoantin qujtzonqujxtiaia in aqujn tlein ipan omotzontec, quauhnochtli, atempanecatl, tezcacoacatl, auh in jtla qujtlaçoaia, qujtzacutiuja mjquja. 696

Cujcacalli, vncan catca in tiachcahoan, in telpuchtlatoque vncan tlatecpanoaia injc qujchiaia tlein tequjtl, auh in momuztlac, in jquac ie calaquj tonatiuh: tlamaçeoaliztli ipan qujmatia, çan petlauhtiuja, injc viia cujcacali, injc oncujcoanooaia çanijo inquech in onactiuja, iuhqujn matlatl ic tlachiuhtli, imaztaxel conmantiuj, tochacatl injc qujlpia intzonchichilicpatl: ioan ixiuhnacoch, ioan intempiloł epteli, ixqujch in telpuchtli in oncujcoanoia icoac necaoaloia in tlaquauh tlapoiaoa, in jcoac iancujcah tlapitzaia tlenamacaque tlamacazque, amo ac ichan calaquja, amo ac ichan oncochia, ca njman vmpa tlamelaoaia, in noujian telpuchcalli inamanca: in oncan cochia, çan pepetlauhtoca, çan achi in concochia, momoztlac in oc ioboan quiça in ontecpanoa, yn ichan tlatoanj. 561 [524] 535 [891] [801] [342] [513]

Auh in jcoac itla qujnmachilia in tlatoanj, aço tlaoanaliztli, anoço nemecatilizth, anoço itla icampa qujqujxtia, in tlatoanj: in amo itencopa, itla qujtetequjtia in calla aço atl, tlaqualli tequjpan iecauj, moiocoia, qujtetequjtia injc intech monequj, njman tlanaoatia in tlatoanj, quauhcalco qujntlalia, qujntlatzontequjlia, injc qujtzacutiui, aço qujnmecanja, anoço qujntetepachoa, anoço quauhtica qujnujujtequj teixpan, injc mjctilo, injc maujztli qujteca tlatoanj. 561 681

9. *Tlacochcalcatl, tlacatecatl*: see Sahagún, *op. cit.*, III, p. 27; Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 70; Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, II, p. 102, n. 3; III, pp. 57-58.
10. *Altar nemamiliztli*, the *Real Academia de la Historia* MS has *amoqo tetlacnomatiliztli*—or adultery.

342 643 [373] 644 722 And in the great palace, the ruler's residence, likewise was watch kept all night. Never did the fire go out. It was watched all night and made to burn with pine torches there in the residence of the ruler—at the Tlacxitlan, and the Teccalli, and the Tecpilcalli, the Quauhcalli, the Achcauhcalli, the Cuicacalli, the Coscalli, and the residences of the lords throughout the city, and the priests' houses, and the majordomos' houses—where assembled the majordomos,—and the young men's houses which were placed in all the neighborhoods.[13] Then the youths filled the houses as they kept guard. None slept in his [own] home. The task of the youths was to go into the forest, in order that watch be kept within the city; for nightly there was light and fires were burned; thus was guard maintained.

Auh in vei tecpan in tlatoca, çan no iuhquj ceioal in tlapialoia, aquenman ceuja in tletl: çeioal in tlapialoia, ioan tlaujloia ocotica, in vncan iician tlatoanj, ioan tlacxitlan, ioan teccali, ioã tecpilcalli, quauhcali, achcauhcali, cujcacali, ioan coscali, in jntenetlaliuian tlatoque altepetl ipan, ioan calmecac, ioan texãcali in jnneçenqujxtiaia calpixque, ioan telpuchcali, in noujian tlâtlâxilacalpan mamanj: vncã icacaltemj in telpupuchti in tlapia, aiac ichan oncochia, intequjuh catca in telpopochti, in quauhtla ialirtli, injc tlapieloia iitic altepetl injc çeçeioal tlaujloia tlatlatiloia, injc tlapieloia.

643 542 FIFTH PARAGRAPH, in which is told how the ruler was amused.

The ruler, when he beheld and knew that the common folk and vassals were very fretful, then commanded that the ball game be played, in order to animate the people and divert them. He commanded the majordomos to take out the rubber ball, and the girdles, and the leather hip guards, and the leather gloves with which the ruler's ball players were dressed and arrayed. And things were arranged on the ball court; there was sprinkling, there was sanding, there was sweeping.

INJC MACUJLLI PARRAPHO: ipan mitoa, in quenjn mellelqujxtiaia, tlatoanj.

In tlatoanj in jcoac qujttaia, tujmatia ca cenca nentlamati in cujtlapilli, atlapalli maceoalli: njman tlanaoatiaia, injc ollamaloz, injc tetllaquaoaia, injc tepaqujltiaia tlatoanj: qujnnaoatiaia in calpixque, injc qujoalcujzque in olli, ioan nelpilonj, ioan queçeoatl, ioan maieoatl: injc mocencaoa injc mochichioa, in jollancaoan tlatoanj, ioan tlacencaoalo in tlachco, tlaaujlilo, tlaxalujlo, tlachpano:

643 525 And all which the ruler was to wager in the game—the valued capes, the duck feather capes, the costly breech clouts, the green stone lip plugs, the golden ear plugs, the green stone necklaces, the golden necklaces, the wrist bands with large, precious,[14] green stones upon them, and all the precious capes and bedding—the majordomos brought out and placed in the ball court. And those who were to challenge and play ball against the ruler then matched all his costly goods. And all the poor folk placed [for] the ruler, each one, old capes like those which the vassals wore. And if they won from the ruler, then the majordomos brought out others and laid out all the costly goods which they had won of the ruler, and also they gave to the vassals all which they had won of the ruler.

ioan in jxqujch qujtlanjtoz tlatoanj, in tlaçotilmatli in xomoiujtilmatli, in tlaçomaxtlatl, in chalchiuhtentetl, teucujtlanacochtli, chalchiuhcozcatl, teucujtlacozcatl, matzopetztli chalchiujtl vei ipan ca, tlaçotl: ioan in ixqujch tlaçotilmatli, ioan pepechtli qujoalqujxtia in calpixque, qujoallalia in tlachco. Auh in iehoantin qujnamjqujzque, in collamjzque tlatoanj: njman jq'tiamjctia, in jxqujch itlatquj tlaçotli: auh in ie ix motolinja maceoalli, ieeceiaca contlalia tlatoanj ica iiaiaçol in iuhquj qujquemj maçeoalli. Auh intla oqujtlanque tlatoanj, njman tepatlia, in calpixque qujtema in ixqujch tlaçotli tlatqujtl, in oqujtlanjlique tlatoanj: auh in maceoalti no qujnmaca in jxqujch oqujtlanilique tlatoanj.

13. *Tlalxilacalpan:* see Arturo Monzón: *El calpulli en la organización social de los tenochca* (México: Instituto de Historia, 1949), p. 51, where the term *tlaxilacalli* is defined as a small barrio or street. According to Orozco y Berra, *op. cit.*, I, p. 369, "*los pueblos quedaron subdivididos en menor calpulli ó barrios, cuantas las parcialidades eran, cada calpulli dividido por calles ó tlaxilacalli.*"

14. *Tlaçotl:* the corresponding Spanish text refers to stones, in which case the Aztec should read *tlaxcal.*

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Tenth Chapter, in which is related how the Spaniards slowly left the coast land and marched ahead; and how Moctezuma left the great palace and went there to his princely home.

Then Moctezuma abandoned his old house, the great palace, and stayed at and lived in, and moved to and visited his princely home.

And when, at last, [the Spaniards] came — when already they had come and were making their way forward — first they had come upon and seized a man from Cempoalla, named Tlacochcalcatl, at the time that they had been going to find the lands and the cities. He also was an interpreter, and set them on their road, put them on their course, showed them the way, led them along, and acted as their guide.

And when they came to reach [the region of] Tecoac,[1] on land of the people of Tlaxcalla, there dwelt their [subject] Otomí. And the Otomí met them in battle; with shields they moved against them. And the Otomí, the men of Tecoac, [the Spaniards] completely overwhelmed. Verily, they destroyed them. They speared them; they were pierced with spears. They turned their guns on them; they shot them with iron bolts; they shot them with crossbows. Not just few but great numbers of them they destroyed.[2]

And when [the region of] Tecoac had perished, those of Tlaxcalla — when they heard and knew of it, when they had been told — could not control their alarm; they swooned with fear. Great was the dread which overcame them. Terror seized them.

Then they gathered themselves together and took counsel. There was a lords' council; there was a rulers' council. They considered the news.

They said: "How shall we act? Shall we, perchance, move against them? For, verily, a great warrior and brave leader is the Otomí. [The Spaniards] thought them as nothing; considered them as nil. In no time — in but the flutter of an eyelid —

Injc matlactli Capitulo: vncan mjtoa in quenjn Españoles çan jvian, oallalhoaccaqujzque, oallotlatocatiaque yoã in quenjn Motecuçoma qujcauh in vei tecpan, vmpa ia in jpilchan.

Niman qujoallalcavi in jvevechan in vei tecpan vncan oallamattia, vncan oallama, qujoalma, qujoaltocac in jpilchan in ichoatl Motecuçoma.

Auh in iequene vitze, in ie vitze, in ie ovalmolinjque: ce tlacatl, cempoaltecatl, itoca tlacochcalcatl, no achto canaco; in jquac quittato tlalli, in altepetl, no oalnaoatlatotia, q'noaloquechilitia, qujnoalotlaxilitia, qujnoallaixtlatitia, qujnoaliacan, qujnoaliacantia.

Auh in oacico Tecoac: in tlalpan tlaxcalteca vncan onoque imotononan. Auh in otomj iautica qujnnamjcque, chimaltica qujnnamjcque: auh in otomj in Tecoaca vel quimjxtlatique, vel ixpoliuhque, quinxixilque, texixilioac, quintlequjqujzvique, quintepuzmjvique, quintlavitolhujque, amo çan quexquichtin, vel ixachintin, in jxpoliuhque.

Auh in ontlalpoliuh tecoac, in tlaxcalteca in oconcacque in ocõmatque, in onjlhujloto, cenca mauhcaçonecque, mocuetlaxoque, cenca in tlania in mavizcujque:

njmã mocentlalique mononotzque, motecuiononotzque, motlatocanonotzque, qujmootitique in tlatolli:

qujtoque. Quen toiezque, cujx tiqujnnamjqujzque: ca vei oquichtli vei tlacauh in otomjtl, atle ipan oquittac, atle ipan oconittac, çan ixquich cavitontli in çan ixpeioctli in oconpopolo maceoalli. Auh in axcan ma çan itlan tencalaquicã, ma çan tictoc-

1. Tecoac: today Molino, in the northern part of the State of Tlaxcala, near the border of the State of Puebla (personal communication, Rafael García Granados).

2. This battle lasted 14 or 15 days, according to Fray Francisco de Aguilar, in *Relación breve de la conquista de Nueva España* (México: José Porrúa e Hijos, Sucs., 1954), pp. 33sqq. References to important contemporary Spanish sources, like Aguilar, Díaz, Cervantes, Cortés, and others, is necessary for gauging passage of time and other points often not in the *Florentine Codex* and other Aztec sources.

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648 splendour of the other Caciques who came out to meet us, who were the Lord of the town named Cuitlahuac,[1] and the Lord of Culuacan, both of them near relations of Montezuma. ● 342 And then when we entered that city of Iztapalapa, the appearance of the palaces in which they lodged us! How spacious and well built they were, of beautiful stone work and cedar wood, and the wood of other sweet scented trees, with great rooms and courts, wonderful to behold, covered with awnings of cotton cloth.

351 When we had looked well at all of this, we went to the orchard and garden, which was such a wonderful thing to see and walk in, that I was never tired of looking at the diversity of the trees, and noting the scent which each one had, and the paths full of roses and flowers, and the many fruit trees and native roses, and the pond of fresh water. [501 503] There was another thing to observe, that great canoes were able to pass into the garden from the lake through an opening that had been made so that there was no need for their occupants to land. And all was cemented and very splendid with many kinds of stone [monuments] with pictures on them, which gave much to think about. Then the birds of many kinds and breeds which came into the pond. I say again that I stood looking at it and thought that never in the world would there be discovered other lands such as these, for at that time there was no Peru, nor any thought of it. [Of all these wonders that I then beheld] to-day all is overthrown and lost, nothing left standing.

648 Let us go on, and I will relate that the Caciques of that town and of Coyoacan[2] brought us a present of gold, worth more than two thousand dollars, and Cortés gave them hearty thanks for it, and showed them much affection, and he told them through our interpreters things concerning

[1] Coadlabaca in the text. [2] Cuyuacan in the text.

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into such a city; and for the many times He has saved me from danger of death, as will be seen later on, I give Him sincere thanks, and in that He has preserved me to write about it, although I cannot do it as fully as is fitting or the subject needs. Let us make no words about it, for deeds are the best witnesses to what I say here and elsewhere.

Let us return to our entry to Mexico. They took us to lodge in some large houses, where there were apartments for all of us, for they had belonged to the father of the Great Montezuma, who was named Axayaca, and at that time Montezuma kept there the great oratories for his idols, and a secret chamber where he kept bars and jewels of gold, which was the treasure that he had inherited from his father Axayaca, and he never disturbed it. They took us to lodge in that house, because they called us Teules, and took us for such, so that we should be with the Idols or Teules which were kept there. However, for one reason or another, it was there they took us, where there were great halls and chambers canopied with the cloth of the country for our Captain, and for every one of us beds of matting with canopies above, and no better bed is given, however great the chief may be, for they are not used. And all these palaces were [coated] with shining cement and swept and garlanded.

As soon as we arrived and entered into the great court, the Great Montezuma took our Captain by the hand, for he was there awaiting him, and led him to the apartment and saloon where he was to lodge, which was very richly adorned according to their usage, and he had at hand a very rich necklace made of golden crabs, a marvellous piece of work, and Montezuma himself placed it round the neck of our Captain Cortés, and greatly astonished his [own] Captains by the great honour that he was bestowing on him. When the necklace had been

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600 excepting the southern edge round Mixcuic, and is now one vast maize field.

Zochimilco is reduced to a swamp traversed by many water-ways and the water from its springs is being utilized for the supply of drinking water to the City. Texcoco alone remains, in a shrunken condition, and no further drainage of its waters is contemplated, as the evaporation from its surface is one of the main factors contributing to the equable climate of the valley.

THE CITY OF MEXICO.

361 The two towns of Tenochtitlan and Tlaltelolco appear to have risen side by side, each retaining control of its own local affairs, until the time of Axayacatl, the sixth ruler of Tenochtitlan (1473), when, after a fierce battle in the streets of the City, Tlaltelolco was conquered, its chiefs killed, and it became a part of the City of 361 Tenochtitlan. It is, however, this growth of the City in two distinct 346 parts that accounts for the existence of the two centres of religious worship, the great teocalli of Tenochtitlan with its surrounding ourts and temples (where the Cathedral of Mexico now stands), and the still larger and more important teocalli of Tlaltelolco and the adjacent temples, courts, and priests' houses, etc., which are so fully described by Bernal Díaz in the text.

361 The following quotation is from the writings of the "Anonymous 363 Conqueror," who himself beheld Mexico in the days of Montezuma:—

"The great city of Temistan (Tenochtitlan), Mexico, has and had many wide and handsome streets; of these two or three are the [501] principal streets, and all the others are formed, half of hard earth like a brick pavement, and the other half of water, so that they can go out along the land or by water in their boats and canoes which are made of hollowed wood, and some are large enough to hold five persons. The inhabitants go abroad some by water in these boats and others by land, and they can talk to one another as they go. There are other principal streets in addition, entirely of water which can only be traversed by boats and canoes, as is their wont, as I have already said, for without these boats they could neither go in nor out of their houses.

● 342 "And this is the fashion of all the other towns which I have said are situated on the fresh water part of this lake. There were, and still are, in this City very handsome and fine houses belonging to the chieftains, so large and with such offices (*Estancias*), dwelling rooms, and gardens both above and below that they are wonderful to behold. I entered the house of a principal lord more than four times on purpose to see it, and I always walked about until I was tired, and I never managed to see the whole of it. It was the custom to have near the entrance of all the Lords' houses very large halls and offices around

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a large patio, but in this house there was a hall so vast that it would easily hold more than three thousand persons, and it was so large that on the floor above (*i.e.* the roof) there was a terrace where thirty horsemen could have run a tilt as in a plaza."

Cortés in his second letter to the Emperor says:—

"There are many very large and fine houses in this City, and the reason of there being so many important houses is that all the Lords of the land who are vassals of the said Monteruma have houses in this City and reside therein for a certain time of the year, and in addition to this there are many rich Citizens who also possess very fine houses. All these houses in addition to having very fine and large dwelling rooms, have very exquisite flower gardens both on the upper apartments as well as down below."[1]

"The principal houses were of two stories, but the greater number of houses were of one storey only. The materials, according to the importance of the buildings, were tezontli[2] and lime, adobes[3] formed the walls plastered with lime, and in the suburbs and shores of the island (the houses were constructed) of reeds and straw, appropriate for the fishermen and the lower classes."[4]

I am strongly of opinion that the very simple style of construction of the houses of ancient Mexico still survives, and can be seen to-day in any of the villages in the neighbourhood, and a photograph of such houses is given facing page 48. There is, however, this difference, that nowadays the adobe walls of the houses are frequently left bare, while in ancient Mexico the walls were almost invariably covered with a highly burnished white plaster.

Of the external ornament or decoration of the more important houses or palaces we know nothing, as the destruction of the City was complete. If the ornamentation was elaborate we hear nothing about it from the conquerers, and it must in any case have been of plaster or some perishable material, otherwise some fragments of it would have survived. It seems therefore probable that the architectural decoration of the houses was of a very simple character, and that the more elaborate stone work was reserved for the teocallis and temples of their gods.

Notwithstanding the above qualifications, the ancient City of Tenochtitlan must have been a place of much beauty and even of considerable magnificence, and it could not have failed to make a vivid impression on the Spaniards, who, it must be remembered, until they set foot in Yucatan, two years earlier, had seen nothing better during the twenty-five years of exploration of America than the houses

[1] Cortés' second letter.
[2] Tezontli, a volcanic stone, easily worked, of a beautiful dull red colour.
[3] Adobes, sun-dried bricks.
[4] Orozco y Berra, *Hist. de Mexico*, vol. iv., p. 281.

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293 The hair
[302] of these priests was very long and so matted that it could not be separated or disentangled, and most of them had
[304] their ears scarified, and their hair was clotted with blood.
346 Let us go on; there were other Cues, a little way from where the skulls were, which contained other Idols and places of sacrifice [decorated] with other evil paintings.
[585] And they said that those idols were intercessors in the marriages of men. I do not want to delay any longer
[342] telling about idols, but will only add that all round that great court there were many houses, not lofty, used and occupied by the priests and other Indians who had charge of the Idols. On one side of the great Cue there was another much larger pond or tank of very clear water dedicated solely to the service of Huichilobos and Tezcatepuca, and the water entered that pond through covered
[883] pipes which came from Chapultepec. Near to this were other large buildings such as a sort of nunnery where many of the daughters of the inhabitants of Mexico were sheltered like nuns up to the time they were married, and
[585] there stood two Idols with the figures of women, which were the intercessors in the marriages of women, and women made sacrifices to them and held festivals so that they should give them good husbands.

I have spent a long time talking about this great Cue of Tlaltelolco and its Courts, but I say that it was the greatest temple in the whole of Mexico although there were many others, very splendid. Four or five parishes or districts possessed, between them, an oratory with its Idols, and as they were very numerous I have not kept count of them all. I will go on and say that the great oratory that they had in Cholula was higher than that of Mexico, for it had one hundred and twenty steps, and according to what they say they held the Idol of Cholula to be good, and they went to it on pilgrimages from all parts of New Spain to obtain absolution, and for this reason they built for it such

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NOT, as Torquemada admits, *assigned* to it *by a higher power*,[32] *the tribal government itself held* NO DOMAIN which it might apportion among subdivisions or to individuals, either gratuitously or on condition of certain prestations; or barter against a consideration.[33] The tribal territory was distributed, at the time of its occupancy, *into possessory rights held by* the KINDRED GROUPS AS SUCH, by common and tacit consent, as resulting *naturally* from their *organization* and *state of culture*.[34]

The patches of solid ground, on which these "quarters" settled, were gradually built over with dwellings, first made out of canes and reeds, and latterly, as their means increased, of turf, "adobe" and light stone. These houses were of *large size*, since it is stated that even at the time of the conquest "there were seldom less than two, four, and six dwellers in one house, thus there were infinite people (in the pueblo) since as there was no other way of providing for them, many aggregated together as they might please." *Communal living*, as the idea of the "calpulli" implies, seems, therefore, to have prevailed among the Mexicans *as late as the period of their greatest power*.[35]

[32] Torquemada (Lib. II, cap. VIII, p. 88, and Lib. III, cap. XXIV, p. 295) attributes the division into "quarters" to a "decree" of the Chichimecan "emperor" Techotlalatzin. But his assertions are disproved in part by his own statements, in part by the positive reports of other authors. Admitting even that the said Techotlalatzin should have wielded the discretionary power attributed to him, although there is strong evidence against it, he would have ruled *after* the foundation of Mexico. (Clavigero, Lib. II, cap. IX. Veytia, Lib. II, cap. XX, p. 178.) Consequently *after* the settling and localizing of the four quarters mentioned had taken place.

[33] The division into "quarters" is everywhere represented as resulting from common consent. But nowhere is it stated that the *tribal government or authority* assigned locations to any of its fractions. This is only attributed to the chiefs, on the supposition that they, although *elective*, were still hereditary monarchs.

[34] There is no evidence of any tribute or prestation due by the quarters to the tribe. The custom always remained, that the "calpulli" was sovereign within its limits. See Alonzo de Zurita ("Rapport sur les différentes classes de chefs de la Nouvelle-Espagne" pp. 51-65). Besides, Ixtlilxochitl says: ("Hist. des Chichim," cap. XXXV, p. 242), "Other fields were called Calpolalli or Altepetlalli." Now calpulalli (from "calpu'li," quarter or kinship, and "tlalli," soil), means soil of the kin, and altepetlalli ("altepetl," tribe), soil of the tribe. Clavigero even says that the lands called "altepetlalli," belonging to the communities "of the towns and villages, were divided into so many parts, as there were quarters in the town, each quarter *having its own, without the least connection with the other*." (Lib. VII, cap. XIV.) This indicates plainly that the kinships *held the soil*, whereas the tribe occupied the territorial expanse. The *domain*, either as pertaining to a "Lord," or to a "State," was unknown among the Indians in general. Even among the Peruvians, who were more advanced than the Mexicans in that respect, there was no domain of the tribe.

[35] See Torquemada (Lib. II, cap. XI, and Lib. III, cap. XXII). Durán (cap. V). The quotation is from Herrera (Dec. II, Lib. VII, cap. XIII, p. 190), and is confirmed by Torquemada (Lib. III, cap. XXIII, p. 291), and especially by Gomara ("Conquista de

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The soil built over by each "calpulli" probably remained for some time the only *solid* expanse held by the Mexicans. Gradually, however, the necessity was felt for an increase of this soil. Remaining unmolested "in the midst of canes and reeds," their numbers had augmented, and for residence as well as for food, a greater area was needed. Fishing and hunting no longer satisfied a people whose original propensities were horticultural; they aspired to cultivate the soil as they had once been accustomed to, and after the manner of the kindred tribes surrounding them. For this purpose they began throwing up *little artificial garden-beds*, "chinampas,"[36] on which they planted Indian corn and perhaps some other vegetables. Such plots are still found, as "floating gardens," in the vicinity of the present city of Mexico, and they are described, as follows, by a traveller of this century:

"They are artificial gardens, about fifty or sixty yards long, and not more than four or five wide. They are separated by ditches of three or four yards, and are made by taking the soil from the

Méjico," p. 443. Vedia, I). "Many married people ("muchos casados") live in one house, either on account of the brothers and relations being together, as they do not divide their grounds ("heredades"), or on account of the limited space of the pueblos; although the pueblos are large, and even the houses." Peter Martyr of Angleria ("De Novo Orbe," translated by Richard Eden and Michael Lok, London, 1612. Dec. V, cap. X, p. 228), says: "But the common houses themselves as hygh as a mannes Girdle, were also built of stone, by reason of the swellyng of the lake through the floode, or washing flote of the Ryvers fallying into it. Vpon those greate foundations, they builde the reste of the house, with Bricke dryed, or burned in the sunne, intermingled with Beames of Tymber, and the common houses have but one floore or planchin." We are forcibly reminded here of the houses of Itza on Lake Peten, which were found in 1695. "Hist. de la Conq. de los Itzaex," Lib. VIII, cap. XII. p. 404." "It was all filled with houses, some with stone walls more than one rod high, and higher up of wood, and the roofs of straw, and some only of wood and straw. There lived in them all the Inhabitants of the Island brutally together, one relationship occupying a single house." See also the highly valuable Introduction to the second Dialogus of Cervantes-Salázar ("Mexico in 1554") by my excellent friend Sr. Icazbalceta (pp. 73 and 74).

[36] "Chinampa," derives from "Chinamitl." "Seta o cerca de caña," (enclosure of canes or reeds). Molina "Vocabulario", Parte II, p. 33). This mode of enclosing the ground was very common in the valley. A cluster of settlements between Churubusco and the Eastern lagoon has even obtained from it the name of "Chinampanecas (frequently mentioned in Tezozomoc and Durán.) The word "Chinamiti" has been adopted by the Quiché of Guatemala, changed into "Chinamit," and used to designate a *kinship*. (See "Popol-Vuh., pp. 201, 204, 208, where "Chinamit" is translated as family.) Even in those remote regions where the territories of Yucatan and Guatemala join, or rather merge into each other, around Lake Peten, where the Nahuatl language is hardly known, we find in the 17th and 18th century, a tribe of "Chinamitas," who are said to have inhabited an area surrounded by Mexican agaves ("Magueyes") as a defensive hedge. ("Hist. de la Conq. de los Itzaex," Lib. VIII, cap. XI, pp. 400-403.) It shows that the original signification of the word, at least, was connected with the notion of a family-lot.

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About the time these changes occurred, the dignity of "tlacatecuhtli" seems to have become a permanent feature in the govern-

XI, cap. XXVI, pp. 334 and 335). Cortés himself (Vedia, I, carta segunda, pp. 34 and 35), speaks of the great halls contained in what he calls the "house of Muteczuma." Bernal-Diez del Castillo (Vedia II, cap. XCI, pp. 86 and 87), confirms. See also Gomara (Vedia, I, p. 343 and 343. "Adonde él morabs y residia á la continua, llaman Tepac, que es como decir palacio . . . . . — . . . habia en él muchas salas.") Sahagun (Lib. VIII, cap. XIV, p. 302. "El palacio de los Señores ó casas reales, tenia muchas salas.") The tecpan was near the centre of the pueblo. See Gomara (Vedia I, p. 341. "Llegaron pues á un patio grande, recamera de los idolos, que fué casas de Axaiáca.") Cortés (Vedia, I, "Carta Tercera," pp. 74 and 76, etc.).

Bernal-Diez (Vedia, II, cap. LXXXVIII, p. 84, etc.). According to Sr. Icazbalceta ("México in 1554, note 38, p. 182, to the 2d Dialogue of Cervantes-Salázar), the "old houses of Montezuma"-occupied (about) the square west of the present site of the Cathedral. The "new houses" were in place of where the National palace now stands. It is admitted that the Cathedral occupies the site of the main "teocalli," or the old centre of the ancient pueblo. (Torquemada, Lib. III, cap. XXII, p. 290). The correctness of this is conclusively proven by Sr. Icazbalceta in note 40, to the Second Dialogue of Cervántes (p. 194, and plate on p. 197, also the important dissertation on page 201), and in note 51. Thus the central location of the tecpan at Mexico remains established.

The permanent residence of the head war-chief, of his household, and of some assistants,—at the tecpan, is too frequently related to demand further proof, but it is not superfluous here to investigate the point: that this residence was connected,—not with the *person* and *descendancy* of that chief, but with the *office* alone.

We find it mentioned that the buildings occupied by the Spaniards, when they first came to the pueblo of Mexico were the "house of the father of Montezuma" (Axayacatzin, probably). All the eye-witnesses concur in it and we need not refer to them in detail. There was, consequently, a house where the *kinship of the chief lived*,—aside from the tecpan, for since descent with the Mexicans was in the male line,—the son continued to occupy the dwellings of his father and (with communal living as practised in Mexico), of that father's consanguine relations. (That these sons and descendants were bred up to the ordinary pursuits of life, like any other Indian of Mexico, results from the speech as reported by Sahagun (Lib. V, cap. XV), of an old chief to his sons, wherein he exhorts them to cultivate the mechanical arts, and agriculture, adding the remarkable words, p. 117, "nowhere have I seen that any one may maintain himself through his noble descendancy alone.") In the case of Áhuitzotl, Durán relates (Cap. XLI, p. 237), "all the chief and principal men, with the whole tribe, going to the place where the sons of the Kings and great men were kept ("recogidos"), and where they instructed and furthered them in virtuous things, in the use of arms and good manners. Then they took out (Ahuitzotl) from the others, and brought him to the royal palace." Tezozomoc (Cap. LX, p. 100), speaking of the election of Áhuitzotl says: "and these twelve Mexican chiefs went to bring the King Ahuitzotl from the house of Tlacalco." "And they said nothing to him until they were in the great palace" (Cap. LXI, p. 100). The election of Montezuma, however, gives occasion to that author, for another and very important statement (Cap. LXXXII, p. 143). "For, know ye, that many of the sons of the Kings past, are brought up now, some of which have become singers, others Cuachimeca, others Otomies, and the others are preparing to assume your titles of Tlacatecatl, Tlacochcalcatl, Ticocyahuacatl, Acolnahuacatl, Hesbuahuacatl, and a number of others who are and dwell in the principal house Calmecac." It is further exposed, how unwise it would be to elect an *unmarried* man, and finally Montezuma was chosen, whose age at that time is given at thirty-four years, and he was taken out of the Calmecac and escorted to the chief house (tecpan). But the strongest evidence results from the fact that the office was *elective*, and not hereditary. How, while the incumbent of an office changed, could the family of his predecessor still remain in possession of the official building?